

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 120553

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 120553

FOL SENT ACTION TO CAIRO MAY 22, 1975 FROM SECSTATE REPEATED  
TO YOU:

QUOTE UNCLASSIFIED STATE 120553

CODEL BAKER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP: (BAKER, HOWARD)

SUBJECT: CODEL BAKER

PLEASE PASS MR. TILLMAN:

THE REASSESSMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST POLICY:  
(STATEMENT BY SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN IN THE UNITED STATES  
SENATE - MAY 22, 1975).

MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE SIGNED A LETTER, ALONG WITH THREE-  
FOURTHS OF MY SENATE COLLEAGUES, URGING CONTINUED U.S.  
SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA,  
I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR WHAT MY SIGNATURE MEANS AND WHAT IT  
DOES NOT MEAN.

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PAGE 02 STATE 120553

IT MEANS THAT I BELIEVE CONTINUED U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

IS IN BOTH OUR INTEREST AND ISRAEL'S.

BUT IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT I ACCEPT AS EITHER DEFENSIBLE OR JUSTIFIABLE THE PRESENT OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES HELD BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967.

ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AS A PERMANENT INDEPENDENT STATE MUST BE RECOGNIZED BY BOTH THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE PLO OR WHICHEVER GROUP ULTIMATELY SPEAKS FOR THE PALESTINIANS.

BUT IN RETURN FOR THAT AGREEMENT OF RECOGNITION ISRAEL MUST AGREE TO RETURN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND MUST ACCEPT PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO A POLITICAL ENTITY OF THEIR OWN.

IT WOULD BE FOLLY FOR ISRAEL TO ASSUME THAT AMERICAN SUPPORT MEANS APPROVAL OF THE EXISTING BOUNDARIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE PRESENT BOUNDARIES ARE NOT DEFENSIBLE; THEY ARE A VIRTUAL ASSURANCE OF CONTINUED CONFLICT. AND THE NON-RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS BY ISRAEL WOULD BE AS DANGEROUS TO PEACE AS PALESTINIAN NON-RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL.

SO LET US SUPPORT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE. BUT LET US RECOGNIZE THAT PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST MEAN MORE WAR AND THAT ONLY A REASONABLE COMPROMISE ON BOTH SIDES CAN PRODUCE THE PEACE SETTLEMENT THAT IS IN THE VITAL INTEREST OF ISRAELI, ARAB AND AMERICAN INTERESTS.

THE TRUE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL WILL OFFER HER THE CONTINUING HAND OF FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT. BUT THEY WILL ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT ISRAEL CANNOT SURVIVE AND FLOURISH IN A WORLD OF 100 MILLION ARABS, INCLUDING 3 MILLION PALESTINIANS UNLESS THE ISSUES OF RECOGNITION, BOUNDARIES AND PALESTINIAN RIGHTS ARE QUICKLY RESOLVED. THE STEP BY STEP APPROACH TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE FAILED BECAUSE THE VARIOUS PARTIES HAD NOT AGREED ON THE BASIC OUTLINE OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT TOWARD WHICH THEY COULD PROCEED

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 STATE 120553

BY STEP.

GENEVA MAY BE THE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE BEFORE THE DOGS OF WAR GO MAD. IF EITHER SIDE SHOULD LAUNCH A NEW WAR IN THE NAME OF "PREVENTION", THE U.S. SHOULD REPUDIATE THAT ACTION WITH APPROPRIATE FORCE.

IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO BACK ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE AND

CONTINUED FREEDOM; IT IS NOT IN OUR INTEREST NOR IN  
ISRAEL'S TO BACK AN OCCUPATION WHICH IF CONTINUED WILL  
SPELL DOOM FOR ISRAEL AND POSSIBLY FOR MILLIONS OF OTHERS.

I HAVE RECENTLY RETURNED FROM A THREE-WEEK STUDY TOUR OF  
THE MIDDLE EAST. IN A FEW DAYS, A CAREFULLY PREPARED  
REPORT OF MY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE MIDDLE

EAST WILL BE ISSUED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN  
RELATIONS. INGERSOLL  
UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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